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one man made a calculation that a cotton night-cap a-piece for every Chinaman would exceed all the rest of our exports of trade, I ventured to say, at more than one public meeting, that I feared the manufacturers would be disappointed. Now, mark the result. At this moment our trade with China does not exceed what it was before the war by more than \$500,000 a year. And now we have a most expensive civil and military establishment at Hong Kong, and consular establishments at five ports, besides troops and a squadron of men-of-war along the coast costing, in all not less than \$2,000,000 annually. I have no hesitation in saying that we should be gainers, if we were to leave China altogether, and allow the Americans or the Dutch, or any nation who can go to China without fighting, to bring us home our silks and our teas."

### CAFFRE WAR.

The progress of this war between the British colonists and the natives of Southern Africa, has at length aroused the friends of humanity and peace in England to expose its enormities, and protest against its continuance. The Aborigines Protection Society and the London Peace Society lately held in London a united public meeting, at which SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq., the eminent Banker, presided. We quote a part of the principal addresses by JOHN HODGKIN, Esq., and the Rev. HENRY RICHARD. The speech of the latter, distinguished for its clearness, point and power, well deserves, if we had space, to be copied entire:—

MR. GURNEY.—*A specimen of the right policy.*—In 1846, the Governor of that day, in a war which then arose, took possession of a certain territory to the east of the river Kye, and called it Queen Adelaide—a disgrace to a name that has been and is so honored in this country. When the intelligence reached this country, William IV., to his lasting honor, would not accept this territory thus acquired, and at once ordered the Governor to give it back to the people to whom it belonged. On that memorable occasion truth, righteousness, mercy and good policy were for once followed. And the effect was a great diminution of the evils which had previously existed between the colonists and the Caffres.

*A War-Policy.*—In 1846 a different course was adopted, and I believe has been pursued ever since. Recourse has always been had to military power to give the Caffres civilization, or what we call civilization—I won't say Christianity, for a greater perversion of Christianity, in my opinion, cannot exist. The inevitable consequences have been continual irritation to the natives, and of deep regret to the friends of humanity. I say it with regret, yet I believe it to be true, that a Governor of the British Colony of the Cape has actually put his foot on the neck of a chief of that country. Will such conduct produce those sentiments and feelings which we are anxious to see prevail in the Colony? It is a matter of real sorrow to me, and I think extremely bad policy, that all our Governors at the Cape, and the agents we have employed to make peace, have all been military men. I am quite satisfied from what I have seen, that if you employ such men, their reliance will in almost all cases be upon the sword, and that you will never effect an honorable peace by their means. But is it proper, is it right, that the power of the sword should be looked to and trusted instead of the power of Christian conduct, showing itself in a friendly and mutual negotiation? I do think that the British Government has made a very great mistake in employing military men only for governments and such like offices, instead of men engaged in commerce, men of common life, or rather let us say, and above all, men of Christian principle.

*The Money-View.*—Although the question of mere money may be the lowest view in which we can look at the subject, it is far from unimportant. The war in which we are now engaged, will cost a great deal of money. I have heard it stated, that it will consume \$15,000,000; but I trust it is very much beyond the mark. Yet supposing it is only five millions, what shall we obtain in return, even if we succeed in recovering the territory sought to be obtained? Next to nothing, if not worse than nothing. It is an utterly bad appropriation of the money of the realm. I am sure that the people of England, if their voices could be heard, would deeply deplore their money being so spent.

*The question argued on ground common to all the friends of humanity.*—The question of war is a very critical one to deal with, and therefore I do not think it would be good policy to argue the question before us to-night on the broad ground of the Peace Society. Some here may not be able to go to the length that I and many of my friends are disposed to go. Let us argue it, then, on ground where we are all agreed. It is admitted by the great body of the people of this country, that war is a very great evil, yet necessary on some occasions. Now, I am not prepared to take that as my principle; but I believe it will be safe to take it as the basis of the argument on the present occasion. I believe the history of our connexion with the Caffres will fully prove, that the use of the sword was the worst possible policy that could have been had recourse to.

MR. HODGKIN.—*Historical sketch of the Colony.*—It will probably be in the recollection of most persons present, that the Cape Colony was discovered by the Portuguese in the year 1493; that it was taken possession of by the Dutch in 1650; and that it was taken possession of by the English in 1795, and continued in their possession till the Peace of Amiens in 1802, when it was restored to the Dutch. In 1806 it was re-captured, and it has remained under British direction from that time to the present. It was confirmed to them by treaty in 1814-5. During the period which has elapsed since our first occupation of it, as we are all well aware, the extent of territory has been very greatly increased. Till 1812, the Great Fish River was its Eastern boundary. In 1819, at the close of the war, a district of country between Fish River and the Reiskamma was denominated the neutral territory. I think that few people have but very little acquaintance with the extent to which we have pushed forward the territorial possessions of this country. Towards the North west the present dimensions are not less than 550,000 square miles—an extent of territory which, it has been well remarked, exceeds the whole of the Austrian Empire, including its Italian possessions.

MR. RICHARD.—*Former wars.*—I shall endeavor to supplement the statement of Mr. Hodgkin by a few additional facts. Allow me to say, that our aggressions upon Caffre territory began almost immediately after we had taken possession of it from the Dutch; and we have continued those aggressions until now. We have had five several wars, all of them the result of those aggressions which we have made upon property, upon cattle, and upon the territory of the Caffres. It may be well to advert for a moment to former wars. Permit me then to direct your attention to the war of 1846, just because it is so closely connected with that which is now waging at the Cape. There had been great irritation, as the result of a system which prevails in regard to strayed cattle. The system is this:—when the cattle of the Caffres stray to the Colony, they are impounded and sold; but when the cattle of the colonists stray from the frontier into the territories of the Caffres, an armed company are immediately sent, and the very first kraal, or village, to which they come, without ascertaining whether the cattle have only strayed there, or whether they have been stolen, they de-

maded restitution by seizing the cattle which first came in their way. Well, this system, as it well might, gave rise to a great deal of bad feeling, and cost a terribly disastrous war. Now, although we may not proceed in our argument to-night upon the abstract doctrines of the Peace Society, yet I must be allowed to remark, that, had the principle of arbitration which is recommended by that Society been acted upon when the differences first arose between the colonists and the Caffres, the dispute would doubtless have been amicably settled. The immediate cause of the war in 1846 was this: 'A Caffre on the frontier stole an axe; he was arrested and sent to prison. On his way there a number of Caffres rescued him, and in the struggle one Hottentot constable was slain on our side, and one Caffre on theirs. When this was known, there was a great excitement at the Cape; a demand was made for the delivery of the prisoner, which was refused by the Caffre chief, on the ground that the colonial authorities were not entitled by treaty to send a Caffre to prison for stealing such a trifling thing as an axe; and I believe the treaties which are in existence now between the Caffres and the colonists, warrant the interpretation which the Chief put upon it. But this is not all; the Caffre chief sent to the Governor not to be in haste to use force, till proper measures had been taken for a right understanding of the question. The Governor at once, without listening to this fair proposal, despatched an armed force to demand the thief. This was the origin of the war in 1846, which led to such great expenditure of blood and money. It was on the eve of being closed, when Sir. Henry Pottinger succeeded Sir. Peregrine Maitland. Just at this time fourteen goats were lost out of the colony, and were tracked into the territory of the chief Sandilli. As soon as Sandilli found that these goats had strayed into his territory, he immediately took twelve of them,—all he could find,—and sent them back to the colony, and three head of cattle as compensation for the two missing ones. Sir Henry Pottinger said, 'This won't do; you must deliver up the thief.' But Sandilli replied: 'I don't know whether there be a thief or not; these goats may have strayed.' He therefore refused to deliver up any one as the thief. Sir Henry Pottinger says in one of his despatches, that Sandilli not only did this, but that in addition, he sent twenty-one milch kine to the Governor in order to make peace. Sir Henry refused these fair offers, and ordered his forces into the territories of Sandilli; and war broke out afresh, and continued for a considerable time. Thus the loss of an axe and two goats entailed upon the people of this country the expenditure of \$10,000,000!

*The Present War.*—Now we come to the present war. Sir Henry Pottinger had nearly brought the war to a conclusion, when Sir H. Smith was sent to succeed him. Well, Sir Harry once there, what does he do? Look at the fact that, on the conclusion of the war, he had added to the Colony of the Cape, on its northeastern side, about 3,600 square miles, and, on the same side, under the name of British Caffraria, 3,900 square miles more. Not content with this, Sir Harry crossed the northern frontier, and took possession of all the region known by the designation of the Orange River Sovereignty, an area of 50,000 square miles. No, content, he still travelled northwards, and crossed the Orange River, in pursuit of the Boers who fled to Natal, and he subdued them, thus adding to the territory 48,000 square miles more, with a frontier of 900 miles. Thus 105,000 square miles have been added to our possessions, with only two or three hundred thousand Colonists. Every time we extended our territory, of course we enlarged our frontier. And this makes it more difficult to defend it against the incursions of the dispossessed natives; we have at this moment not less than 1,000 miles of frontier to defend.

Let us come now to the immediate cause of this war. As the people of Caffreland are almost wholly dependent for their existence upon their cat-

tle, in proportion as their land was seized and taken possession of, their means of existence was lessened; in time of drouth especially, the hardship was very severely felt. They had been accustomed at such times, to remove their flocks and herds from one pasture to another; but of course, when the land was taken from them, they could not do this, and there was also a much greater probability of their cattle straying over the frontiers. I entreat you to observe, that all my quotations are from official documents. I have gone through these blue books, in order to ascertain the real cause of this war. First, I find in the despatches sent to Sir Harry Smith from Colonel Mackinnon, an intimation that there was a witch-doctor causing a good deal of excitement among the Caffres, and Colonel Mackinnon says, "He has committed no overt act which would justify a seizure of his person, and with a view to removing him from the country; nor have we any distinct evidence to prove that he has excited the Caffres to war. I have reason to believe that his seizure would cause great irritation among the Caffres generally, and that at the present most trying season, when they are in a state of great destitution, and nevertheless abstain wholly from marauding in the Colony, it might endanger the tranquillity which both the Colony, and the Colonists who live in Caffreland, have hitherto enjoyed. In the very next despatch it is announced, that this poor Witch Doctor—who was actually at the point of death—had been seized; conduct which, he had been informed on such good authority, would be the most unwise. This was in October, 1850. Shortly after, he called a meeting of the chiefs; but Sandilli refused to attend. Why? He says: 'I am afraid to come.' What was the ground of his fear? In the first place he remembered, that in 1835, a Caffre Chief named Hintza delivered himself up, on a solemn promise of personal safety and liberty, into the hands of the British authorities, when he was instantly put into custody, and commanded to send a message to his people, to deliver up 50,000 head of cattle as his ransom. As a favorable reply was not returned, they took him in custody into his own territories, in the hope of receiving from his people this monstrous ransom. As they were going along, what took place? We have it from Sir Harry Smith himself, who was then Colonel:—'I was looking to observe the march of the troops, when I heard the cry of 'Look Colonel!' I saw Hintza had set off at full speed, and was 30 yards a head of every one; I spurred my horse with violence, and came close up with him; he urged his horse the more, which could beat mine; I drew a pistol, it snapped; I drew another, it also snapped; I then was sometime galloping after him, when I spurred my horse alongside of him, and struck him on the head with the butt-end of a pistol; he redoubled his efforts to escape, and his horse was three lengths ahead of mine. I had dropped one pistol, I threw the other after him, and struck him again on the head. Having thus raced about a mile, we were within half a mile of the Caffre huts. I found my horse was closing with him; I had no means of assailing him, while he was provided with his assagais; I therefore resolved to attempt to pull him off his horse, and I seized the athletic chief by the throat, and twisting my hand in his karop, I dragged him from his seat, and hurled him to the earth; he instantly sprang on his legs, and sent an assagai at me, running off towards the rugged bed of the Kebaka. My horse was most unruly, and I could not pull him up till I reached the Caffre huts. This unboiling the chief, and his waiting to throw an assagai at me brought Mr. George Southey of the corps of Guides up; and at about 260 yards distance, he twice called to Hintza, in Caffre, to stop, or he would shoot him. He ran on; Mr. Southey fired, and struck him only slightly in the leg. Again calling to him to stop, without effect, he fired, and shot him through the back; he fell headlong forwards; but springing up, and running forwards, closely pursued by my aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Balfour, he precipitated him down a kloof into the Kabaka, and posting himself in a narrow

niche of the rock, defied any attempt to secure him, when, still refusing to surrender, and raising an assagai, Mr. George Southey fired, and shot him through the head.

Now Sandilli remembered this, as well as the insulting language used by Sir Harry Smith to the Caffre Chief; and he refused to attend the meeting. I will give you Sir Harry's own language:—'Sandilli further stated that at the close of the late war, he was invited by Colonel Somerset, through Major Bissett, to come to Colonel Buller's camp to make peace, with the assurance that nothing should be done to him; that on going to the camp, trusting to this assurance, and with the intention of returning at night to his hiding place, he was made a prisoner, and sent to Graham's Town, whence he would have been transported, had he not been liberated by His Excellency. Sandilli says that while he heartily dreads offending His Excellency, he fully believes he is to be apprehended, and with the dread of his former confinement before his eyes, he fears placing himself in a position again to lose his liberty or his life. He most solemnly denies having had any intention of making war on the colony, and defies any man to prove the contrary. His views towards Government are unaltered; he still dreads war as much as when he swore allegiance to the Queen of England, and he is still as much under the feet of the Governor as he was on the day of his liberation in Graham's Town. He therefore begs that the Governor will still continue his goodness and kindness towards him.' It was also rumored, and very generally believed, that it was the intention to seize Sandilli's person, and thus he said 'I dare not come.' He did not go. Sir Harry Smith immediately issued a proclamation offering 500*l*. to any person who would deliver Sandilli into the hands of the Governor; but not a man could be found to betray their chief.

It is time to have done calling these Caffres by hard names, such as 'indomitable wolves,' 'irreclaimable barbarians,' and 'savages.' Who began this war? the Caffre or the Colonial Governor? It was begun, I say, without cause by the Colonial Governor. It is worthy of observation, that the alarm felt in the Colony respecting the Caffres, was in a still greater degree felt by the Caffres. As a proof of this I may cite the following extract of one of Colonel Mackinnon's despatches to Sir Harry Smith: 'The excitement in Caffreland was much increased by the warlike rumors which came from the colony, and the Caffres construed the preparations which the colonists were making for their own security, into an intention to attack them.'

'I know perfectly well the sort of language that will be employed against us; that we shall be reproached with the '*cant*' of humanity when we speak thus on behalf of the oppressed. *Cant* of every kind is doubtless contemptible enough, and, among other '*cants*,' the '*cant*' of humanity: but I will tell you of one '*cant*' that seems to be more contemptible, as well as infinitely more pernicious, and that is the odious and brutal '*cant*' of inhumanity, in which some of these men indulge when they say, it is a vain thing to attempt to save the Aboriginal tribes, because they are destined by an inevitable law of progress to perish. That is the doctrine of some of our would-be philosophers, and they point us to the Aboriginal races of North America and South Australia for evidence of their assertion, that as these races are brought into contact with civilized and Christian people, they must perish. I deny it. They perish, not because they have become associated with civilized and Christian people, but because they have come into contact with men calling themselves civilized and Christian, but who have behaved worse than heathens and barbarians towards them. I have no patience with these would-be philosophers. We send out the very worst specimens of our population as pioneers of our civilization, and inoculate them with our vices and diseases; we furnish them with more deadly weapons of war, and induce them to destroy each other, that we may possess their territory: and then these sanctimonious philosophers, who are

ready to sneer when we make any reference to the Governor of the World, turn up the white of their eyes, and tell us the Aborigines are appointed by an inevitable law to perish ! I deny it. I say, to affirm that they perish by a law of Providence is a falsehood and a blasphemy. They perish, not by a law of Providence, but by the wickedness of man ; and it is our business, as Christian philanthropists, to lift up a stern voice of remonstrance, to step between them and their destroyer, and say they shall not perish.

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### THE WASTE OF WAR.

Give me the gold that war has cost,  
 Before this peace expanding day,  
 The wasted skill, the labor lost,  
 The mental treasure thrown away ;  
 And I will buy each rood of soil  
 In every yet discovered land.  
 Where hunters roam, where peasants toil,  
 Where many-peopled cities stand.

I'll clothe each shivering wretch on earth  
 In needful, nay, in brave attire ;  
 Vesture befitting banquet mirth,  
 Which kings might envy and admire.  
 In every vale, in every plain,  
 A school shall glad the gazer's sight ;  
 Where every poor man's child may gain  
 Pure knowledge, free as air and light.

I'll build asylums for the poor,  
 By age or ailment made forlorn ;  
 And none shall thrust them from the door,  
 Or sting with looks and words of scorn.  
 I'll link each alien hemisphere ;  
 Help honest men to conquer wrong ;  
 Art, Science, Labor, nerve and cheer.

In every crowded town shall rise  
 Halls, Academies, amply graced ;  
 Where Ignorance may soon be wise,  
 And Coarseness learn both art and taste.  
 To every province shall belong  
 Collegiate structures, and not few  
 Fill'd with a truth-exploring throng,  
 And teachers of the good and true.

In every free and peopled clime  
 A vast Walhalla hall shall stand,  
 A marble edifice sublime,  
 For the illustrious of the land ;  
 A Pantheon for the *truly* great,  
 The wise, beneficent, and just ;  
 A place of wide and lofty state  
 To honor or to hold their dust.

A temple to attract and teach,  
 Shall lift its spire on every bill,  
 Where pious men shall feel and preach  
 Peace, mercy, tolerance, and good-will ;  
 Music of bells on Sabbath days,  
 Round the whole earth shall gladly rise ;  
 And one great Christian song of praise  
 Stream sweetly upward to the skies !

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